

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MEXICO 05238 01 OF 02 141625Z

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 CU-02 DHA-02 /060 W

-----141725Z 072972 /50

R 141613Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1515

INFO ALL USCONS MEXICO BY POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MEXICO 05238

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT MX

SUBJECT: GOM ANNOUNCES POLITICAL REFORM

REF: MEXICO 5092

SUMMARY:

ON APRIL 1 THE GOM ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO INTRODUCE INTERNAL POLITICAL REFORMS. ALTHOUGH THE REFORMS WERE NOT SPECIFIED, THE WORDING OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT, TOGETHER WITH OTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE, INDICATES THE GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO REGISTER AT LEAST ONE NEW POLITICAL PARTY, PROBABLY A COALITION OF LEFTIST DISSIDENT GROUPS, INCLUDING THE MEXICAN COMMUNISTS. WE ATTRIBUTE THE GOM'S MOTIVATION TO DESIRES TO CHANNEL DISSIDENT OPINION INTO NON-VIOLENT EXPRESSION, AND, BY SEIZING THE INITIATIVE, TO AVOID RESULTS WHICH MIGHT AFFECT THE RULING COALITION'S DOMINATION OF NATIONAL POLITICAL LIFE. END SUMMARY.

1. SPEAKING APRIL 1 IN THE NAME OF PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO, INTERIOR SECRETARY REYES HEROLES ANNOUNCED THE GOM INTENTION TO "...WIDEN THE POSSIBILITIES OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION SO AS TO ATTRACT TO THE ORGANS OF REPRESENTATION THE COMPLICATED NATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL MOSAIC..."

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MEXICO 05238 01 OF 02 141625Z

SENTATION THE COMPLICATED NATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL MOSAIC..." TRANSLATED FURTHER, (WITH THE AID OF INTELLIGENCE, REPORTING AND INTERPRETATIONS OBTAINED FROM CONTACTS CLOSE TO PRI PRESIDENT SANORES PEREZ AND TO REYES HEROLES), THE ANNOUNCEMENT SUGGESTS THE GOM INTENDS TO REGISTER AT LEAST ONE, PERHAPS TWO OR THREE, NEW POLITICAL PARTIES. MOST PRI CONTACTS THINK THE GOM WILL REGISTER A COALITION

OF MARXIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES, INCLUDING THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCM). FEW THINK THE PCM WILL BE REGISTERED AS SUCH, AND NONE SEEM TO BE WORRIED THAT RECOGNIZING A PARTY INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS WOULD OPEN A PANDORA'S BOX.

2. A TIMETABLE FOR THE ABOVE SCENARIO COULD INVOLVE AS MUCH AS A YEAR OR TWO, SINCE THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTIONS WILL NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL 1979. WHETHER THE LEFTIST GROUPS CAN SUBMERGE PERSONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES TO FORM A PARTY IS ALSO UNCERTAIN; THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AMONG THE POWERLESS HAS SHATTERED PREVIOUS SUCH ATTEMPTS. THE MOST LIKELY GROUPING WOULD BRING TOGETHER THE PCM, REMNANTS OF THE RAFAEL GALVAN-LED DISSIDENT ELECTRICAL WORKERS, THE MEXICAN WORKERS PARTY (LED BY HEBERTO CASTILLO AND DEMETRIO VALLEJO), AND DISGRUNTLED ELEMENTS OF THE (REGISTERED) POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY (PPS) ASSOCIATED WITH MANUEL STEPHANS GARCIA.

3. THE GOM MAY ALSO CHOOSE TO ALLOW THE REGISTRATION OF A FAR RIGHT PARTY. SINCE 1969 HEIRS OF THE SINARQUISTA MOVEMENT OF THE 1940'S HAVE BEEN TRYING TO REGISTER AS THE MEXICAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDM). THE PURPOSE OF REGISTERING THE PDM WOULD BE LESS TO PROVIDE A SAFE OUTLET FOR DISSIDENT RIGHT WING OPINION, WHICH IS LARGELY REGIONAL AND GENERALLY NON-VIOLENT, THAN TO ANTICIPATE AND DEFUSE CRITICISM AT HOME AND ALARMISM AMONG GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH LAST YEAR WROTE TWO "MEXICO-IS-GOING COMMUNIST" LETTERS TO PRESIDENT FORD.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MEXICO 05238 01 OF 02 141625Z

4. UNTIL THE REYES HEROLES SPEECH THE LOPEZ PORTILLO GOVERNMENT HAD NOT GIVEN ANY INDICATION IT WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION, HAVING GIVEN PRIORITY ATTENTION TO ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM AND ITS ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. BUT THE 1976 ELECTION DEMONSTRATED TO MANY MEXICANS THAT THE THREE REGISTERED OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE LARGELY CEASED TO BE EFFECTIVE OUTLETS FOR NON-VIOLENT DISSIDENCE. INTERNAL DIVISIONS, FAILURE TO FIELD PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, AND TRANSPARENT OPPORTUNISM HAVE SERVED TO DRAIN THE OPPOSITION PARTIES OF CREDIBILITY. DELIBERATELY ANNULLED BALLOTS AND BALLOTS CAST FOR UNREGISTERED CANDIDATES IN THE 1976 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS WERE GREATER THAN THE TOTAL VOTES CAST FOR THE PPS AND THE AUTHENTIC PARTY OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION (PARM) COMBINED. (SEE 1976 A-243). THE RIGHTEST PARTY OF NATIONAL ACTION (PAN) IS NOT SO DISCREDITED AS THE PARM AND THE PPS, BUT ITS VOTER APPEAL IN THE 1976 ELECTIONS DROPPED TO ITS LOWEST LEVEL SINCE 1961.

5. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT NON-VIOLENT OPPOSITION IN MEXICO IS NOW CLUSTERED OUTSIDE THE REGISTERED OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE GROUPS MENTIONED IN PARA 3 ABOVE, IN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (PST), AND IN VARIOUS ADDITIONAL GROUPS TOO NUMEROUS TO IDENTIFY. THE GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY HAS DECIDED THAT TO CONTINUE TO DENY REGISTRATION TO THESE GROUPS RUNS A RISK OF FORCING THEM INTO VIOLENT OPPOSITION. IT PROBABLY HOPES AS WELL THAT DISSIDENT STUDENTS AND THE FOUR HUNDRED "POLITICAL PRISONERS" AGAINST WHOM CRIMINAL CHARGES WERE DROPPED MARCH 28 (REF) WOULD JOIN NEW POLITI-

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MEXICO 05238 02 OF 02 141626Z

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 CU-02 DHA-02 /060 W

-----141724Z 073125 /50

R 141613Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1516

INFO ALL USCONS MEXICO BY POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MEXICO 05238

CAL PARTIES RATHER THAN DRIFT INTO VIOLENCE.

6. REGISTERING NEW OPPOSITION PARTIES TO SUPPLEMENT (OR POSSIBLY TO REPLACE) THE DISCREDITED OLD ONES, WOULD NOT, IN OUR JUDGMENT, BRING ABOUT PROFOUND CHANGE IN THE MEXICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM. RATHER, IT WOULD CONSTITUTE A PATCH-UP JOB ON THE STATUS QUO, LEAVING INTACT THE RULE OF THE POLITICAL GAME WHICH RESTRICTS THE REAL COMPETITION FOR POLITICAL POWER TO A MINORITY ELITE WHOSE LOYALTY TO THE INCUMBENT PRESIDENT AND THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY SYSTEM IS UNQUESTIONED. BY SEIZING THE INITIATIVE, THE GOM APPARENTLY HOPES TO DEFINE THE KIND OF REFORMS WHICH IT COULD ACCEPT, STEERING DEMANDS AWAY FROM CHANGES WHICH MIGHT AFFECT THE RULING COALITION'S DOMINATION OF NATIONAL POLITICAL LIFE. THOMPSON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GOVERNMENT REFORM, POLICIES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 14-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977MEXICO05238  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770130-0010  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** MEXICO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770458/aaaabxuj.tel  
**Line Count:** 168  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 9e3d23a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION ARA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 MEXICO 5092  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2807648  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GOM ANNOUNCES POLITICAL REFORM  
**TAGS:** PINT, MX  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/9e3d23a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009